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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the origins, growth, and present state of communication research in Latin America. Based on empirical data, the paper identifies: (1) the factors that determined the kinds of studies that emerged in the region; (2) the major research topics; (3) the most influential scholars; and (4) the main currents of theoretical influence and their changes over time. The first section provides a historical overview of Latin American communication research in a time-line form, pinpointing a series of events that occurred between 1920 and the late 1960s. The second section discusses the formation of the different research traditions, based on both North American and European models. The third section describes the sources of data and the methods of data collection (especially surveys of North American and Latin American scholars) and data analysis used in the paper. The fourth section presents 13 conclusions; among them are the following: (1) the emergence of communication research in Latin America was the result of the influence of the United States, along with the development of the mass media and the worldwide development of the social sciences; and (2) Latin American scholars felt that the founding of the research center CIESPAL in Ecuador (1959), the work of Armando Mattelart and his group in Chile (1969-1973), and the founding of journalism and communication schools in Latin America were important events in the history of communication research in Latin America. Four figures and 10 tables of data are included, and 110 references are attached. (SR)

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THE GROWTH OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH IN LATIN AMERICA

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INTRODUCTION

Communication research in Latin America dates back more than 60 years. From the first studies on South American journalism conducted by a number of North American and Argentine scholars in the early 1920's (Gerald, 1930, 1931), to the more recent studies on the cultural and political impact of advertising (Janus & Roncagliolo, 1979; Janus, 1981), Latin American media flows (Antola & Rogers, 1984; Rogers and Antola, 1985), transnationalization of culture (Roncagliolo, 1985), alternative communication (Reyes Matta, 1981; Simpson Grinberg, 1981) popular culture (Garcia Canclini, 1982, 1983; Martin Barbero, 1984) relationships between Latin American media, governments, and power elites (Alisky, 1981); Fernandez Christlieb, 1976, 1982; Mattos, 1984; Trejo Delarbre et al., 1985; Sanchez Ruiz, 1984), and so on, the development of mass media in Latin America and its relationships with the social, political, and cultural processes of the region has attracted the interest of Latin American, North American and European scholars.

Notwithstanding, to this date no coherent picture of communication research in Latin American can be obtained from studies on the growth of the discipline in the region. Regarding the theoretical approach of communication research in Latin America, for instance, we see that whereas for some authors, communication research in the region has been characterized by its critical approach (Atwood, 1986; McAnany, 1986; Schwarz & Jaramillo, 1986), for some others, it has been an offspring of the cultural and intellectual dependence from developed countries, especially from the United States (Beltran, 1976, 1977; Jimenez, 1982), and even for a third group, it has been a hybrid product of North American and European approaches (Rogers, 1982).

This unclear picture is, to some extent, the consequence of two factors:

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1.- The complexity and broadness of the topic.

2. The lack of empirical data to support some of the assertions made in regard to this topic: most of the studies conducted so far on communication research in Latin America are theoretical analyses, based on literature reviews, oriented to discuss the trends that the discipline has described in the region (Atwood, 1986; Beltran, 1976, 1977; Jimenez, 1982; Corral, 1982; Marquez de Melo, 1984; Martin Barbero, 1983; McAnany, 1986; Rogers, 1982; Schwarz & Jaramillo, 1986).

The present study constitutes one of the first attempts to analyze the origins, growth, and present state of communication research in Latin America based on empirical data.

PURPOSE

To understand the development of communication research in Latin America by (1) identifying factors that determine the kinds of studies that emerged in the region, (2) the major research topics, (3) the most influential authors, and (4) the main currents of theoretical influence on Latin American scholars, and probing their changes over time.

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OVERVIEW OF LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Generally speaking, the emergence of communication research in the region was marked by a series of events that occurred between the early 1920's and the late 1960's. Among them, the following stand out:

1920-1930: Some North American and Argentine scholars conduct a series of studies on South American journalism, analyzing similarities and differences between North American and South American journalism (Gerald, 1930, 1931).

1934: The Escuela Argentina de Periodismo, the first Latin American school of journalism, is founded at the National University of La Plata, in Buenos Aires, Argentina (Nixon, 1970).

1959: The International Center of Advanced Communication Studies for Latin America, known as CIESPAL or Centro de Estudios Superiores de Comunicacion para American Latina is established in Quito, Ecuador on signature of tripartite convention by (1) the government of Ecuador, (2) the Central University of Ecuador, and (3) UNESCO "to provide advanced training in information science and scientific journalism, and to carry out scientific research on mass communications and specialized documentation" (Yearbook of International Organizations, 1986-87).

1960: The Escuela de Ciencias y Technicas de la informacion, the first school of communications of Latin America, is founded at the Iberoamerican University in Mexico City (Galindo, 1985).

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1963: Antonio Pasquali, a Venezuelan scholar, publishes his book Comunicacion y Cultura de Masas (Communication and Mass culture), which has been regarded as "the first critical research work in communication published in Hispanic America" (Schwarz & Jaramillo, 1986).

1964: The first general meeting of Latin American communication researchers is conducted in Mexico City. This meeting focused on communication and development in general, and diffusion of innovations in particular (Beltran, 1977).

1963-69: Everett M. Rogers and other North American scholars members of the Michigan State University Diffusion Project, conduct studies on diffusion of innovations and modernization in Colombia and Brazil (interview with E. M. Rogers, 1985).

1969: Paulo Freire, a Brazilian education scholar, publishes his book Extension or Communication while working at the "Instituto de Capacitacion e Investigacion de la Reforma Agraria", in Chile. In this book Freire states the principles of what later will be known as "alternative communication" (Reyes Matta, 1986).

1969: Armand Mattelart, a Belgian scholar who had moved from Europe to Chile in 1962, founds, along with Jacques Chonchol and other European scholars, the "Centro de la Realidad Nacional" (CEREN), at the Catholic University of Chile.

1970: Eliseo Veron, an Argentine scholar, founds the Argentine Semiotics Association, the second of this kind in the world (Veron et al., 1974).

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1971: Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart publish the original version of the book How to Read Donald Duck ("Para Leer el Pato Donald"), while working at the Catholic University of Chile, during Allende's administration in Chile.

This brief review of some of the major events that occurred in the early stages of communication research in Latin America, suggests that the discipline emerged gradually in different Latin American countries, with different theoretical approaches whose origins can be traced to the United States and Europe.

FORMATION OF THE DIFFERENT RESEARCH TRADITIONS

1. Intellectual roots: A brief review of some of the studies that have been conducted by Latin American scholars lead us to realize that their topics, methods and theoretical approaches reflect the existence of at least two groups of scholars: one of them with a strong influence from what has been called the "empirical school" (i.e., Abrev-Sojo, 1982; Diaz-Guerrero, 1976; Izcaray, 1973, 1975; Izcaray & Chaffee, 1976; Izcaray & McNelly, 1973), and another with a strong influence from the "critical school" (i.e., Arriaga, 1980, 1984; Beltran, 1978; Beltran & Fox de Cardona, 1980; Dorfman & Mattelart, 1974; Diaz Rangel, 1974; Esteinov Madrid, 1980; Fernandez Christlieb, 1976, 1982; Roncagliolo, 1982a, 1982b; Schmucler, 1980).

Generally speaking, the influence of each school of though on Latin American communication research was originally produced by the following events:

a) By the great diffusion that, at social science level, had in Latin America the publication of the Spanish and Portuguese versions of some works of Parsons, Merton, and other members of the early stages of the standard American Sociology (Mullins & Mullins, -- 1973), as well as those of Marx, Engels, Gramsci, Althusser, and other Marxist and Neo-Marxist scholars, especially in the 1960's; and at communication research level, the great diffusion of the Spanish and Portuguese versions of a number of "classical" works written by North American and European scholars.

b) By the influence exerted on Latin American Communication students by the first Latin Americans who studied graduate programs in Europe and the United States.

c) By those U. S. scholars who taught at CIESPAL in the 1960's, like Berlo, Nixon and Rogers, among others, and those who conducted research projects in the region especially in the 1960's and 1970's.

d) By those European scholars, like Mattelart, Chonchol, and more recently Martin Barbero, who came to Latin America to teach and do research.

These various sources helped Latin American scholars to become familiar with the principles, main characteristics, and theoretical approaches to communication research of critical and empirical scholars in Europe and the United States, and to adopt some of their ideas in Latin American Scholars were concerned with answering audience-level inquiries, an put the emphasis on mass media uses and effects (Lozada et al., 1980; Sabido, 1984), as well as on the manifest content of the media (Korzenny et. at, 1981), other Latin American scholars were concerned with answering source-level inquiries,

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putting the emphasis on mass media ownership (Fernandez Christlieb, 1976, 1982; Mattos, 1982, 1984; Sanchez Ruiz, 1984) and on the ideological -- content of mass media messages (Aguirre & Bismal, 1981; Dorfman, 1980; Dorfman & Mattelart, 1971; Dorfman & Jofre, 1974; Gomez-Mont, 1982).

Variations in the approach had led to variations in regard to the major topics analyzed by Latin American scholars: Whereas the former group has put more emphasis on the areas of (1) communication and development and diffusion of innovations (Diaz-Bordenave, 1974, 1977, 1978; Jimenez-Sanchez et al., 1974) (2) evaluation of some educational programs (Diaz Guerrero & Holzman, 1974; Diaz-Guerrero et. al., 1975, 1976) (3) mass media flows (Antola & Rogers, 1984) Oliveira & Guimaraes, 1981) (4) agenda setting (Chaffee & Izcaray, 1975) and (5) patterns of media use (Izcaray & McNelly, 1973; Lozada et al., 1980) the latter group has emphasized (1) cultural imperialism (Dorfman, 1980; Dorfman & Mattelart, 1971; Dorfman & Jofre, 1974), (2) mass media ownership (Fernandez Christlieb, 1976, 1982; Mattos, 1982, 1984; Trejo Delarbre et. al. 1985), (3) transnationalization of culture (Lins da Silva, 1986; Roncagliolo, 1986), (4) alternative communication (Nethol & Pinto, 1980; Reyes Matta, 1981, 1983, 1986), and (5) popular culture (Garcia Canclini, 1982; Gonzaga Motta, 1982).

There are, however, some areas of study that have emerged in the last ten years or so, such as "national communication policies" and "new technologies" that have been explored by both critical (Beltran, 1976; Eliaschev, 1981a, 1981b; Esteinov, 1987; Fadul, 1984; Mattelart & Schmucler, 1983; Schmucler, 1983) and empirical (Rada, 1980, 1983; Salinas, 1985; Schenkel, 1984) Latin American communication researchers. Table 1 presents a summary of this situation.

Table 1 : Hypothetical characteristics of studies conducted by critical and empirical Latin American communication scholars (*)

Characteristic	Empirical scholars	Critical scholars
Theoretical approach	. Audience-level enquiries . Emphasis on mass media effects . Emphasis on manifest content of media messages	. Source-level enquiries . Emphasis on mass media ownership . Emphasis on ideological content of the media (latent meaning)
Major topics	. Communication and development / diffusion of innovations . Mass media flows . Mass media effects / agenda-setting . Patterns of media use	. Alternative communication / democratization of mass media . Transnationalization of culture . Mass media ownership . Popular culture
Topics that have been of interest for both groups, recently.	a) Communication policies - National - International (New World Information Order) b) New information technologies	

(*) Adapted from Rogers (1982)

2. More recent sources of intellectual influence on Latin American communication scholars: Five major theoretical currents have exerted influence on Latin American communication research since the early 1970's.

a) Popular culture research, which basically consists of an anthropological analysis of the different ways of expression that each ethnic, indigenous, or popular group has to communicate their cultural values and experiences of their quotidian life (Garcia Canclini, 1983). The basic claim of this approach is that each country or region has to promulgate its own cultural policies with the purpose of transforming those institutions devoted to produce culture by allowing artists, intellectuals, and popular organizations to participate actively in those centers or institutions devoted to distribute art and culture (Garcia-Canclini, 1983).

b) The media imperialism approach, which can be seen as a second stage, or as a more elaborated conception of Mattelart's original ideas on cultural imperialism, has been the second source of influence on Latin American scholars in the past ten years, this new approach which has been elaborated by both European (Cruise O'Brien, 1979, Varis, 1973) and North American communication scholars (Schiller, 1971, 1976, 1978), is concerned with the role that modern communications play in the development of the third World (Fejes, 1981).

c) The knowledge gap hypothesis, which in its original form states that any infusion of information from the mass media in the social system produces a widening of the knowledge gap between rich and poor people (Tichenor, 1970), has also been very influential in Latin American communication researchers, especially in those interested in the area of communication and development (Elgue, 1982; Fonseca, 1968; McNelly & Molina, 1972; Simmons & Garda, 1982). Perhaps this interest in the knowledge gap hypothesis is -- based

on the general concern that exist among Latin American scholars for the effects of mass media in a society with such a strung structural problems.

d) The dependency theory, which was originally sketched by Argentine economist Paul Prebish and developed by Teotonio Dos Santos, Fernando Enrique Cardoso, Ruy Mauro Marini, Celso Furtado, and other Brazilian and Chilian economists and sociologists who were working for the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), in Chile, in the late 1960's and early 1970's (Elguea, 1984; Preston, 1982), has been another important source of influence on Latin American communication scholars since the early 1970's. This theory, which grew in the field of economics, states that in the world capitalist system the relationships between developed ("center") and underdeveloped countries ("periphery") are unequal, and that this inequality limits the capacity of the internal market of the underdeveloped country creating an ever increasing relationship of dependency (Chilcote, 1984).

Generally speaking, the principles of the dependency theory have been applied by some Latin American communication scholars to studies on cultural dependency, transnationalization of culture, and mass media ownership.

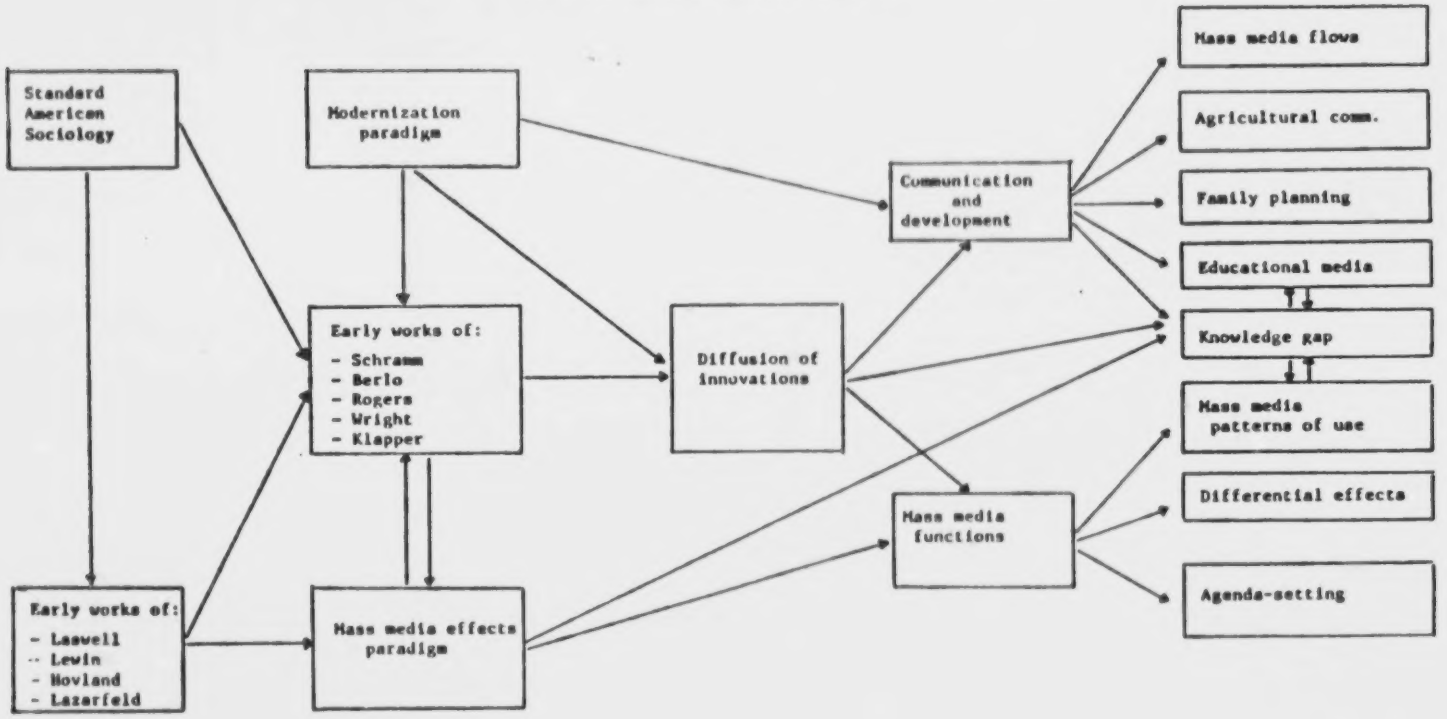
e) Freire's theory of dialogical communication. Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator who developed the theory of education through concientization states that there are no passive subjects in the communication process: Instead, dialogue is what should characterize the world of communication. Freire's ideas were originally very influential in the area of communication and development and more recently in the so-called alternative communication.

In summary, Latin American communication research has been influenced by European, North American, and more recently Latin American theories. All these factors have created a discipline in the region that splits into two lines, "critical" and "empirical", both of which have registered changes over time in the kinds of topics that have received more attention by Latin American scholars. Figures 1 and 2 present hypothetical models of the major sources of influence on the two groups of Latin American communication scholars.

As we said before, the growth of communication research in Latin America has been analyzed from different points of view by a number of authors. Whereas some of them equate communication research in the region with the critical approach, others see it as a product of the cultural and intellectual dependence from developed countries, and a third group considers Latin American communication research as a field were both the critical and the empirical approaches coexist.

These theories are not necessarily contradictory to each other. Perhaps they simply analyze different stages in the growth of communication in Latin America, with a strong influence of the empirical school in the early stages, a strong influence from the critical school in the 1960's and 1970's, and a more balanced influence from both schools in the recent years. However, this idea, if true, is not clear in the works developed so far. Some empirical analyses are needed to have a better picture of the major characteristics and research trends of Latin American communication research. This is precisely the aim of the present study: To provide a first approach to the growth of communication research in Latin America based on empirical data.

Figure 1: Hypothetical model of the major sources of influence on Latin American empirical scholars



(*) Model is an expanded version of Rogers, 1976, 1982, 1986.

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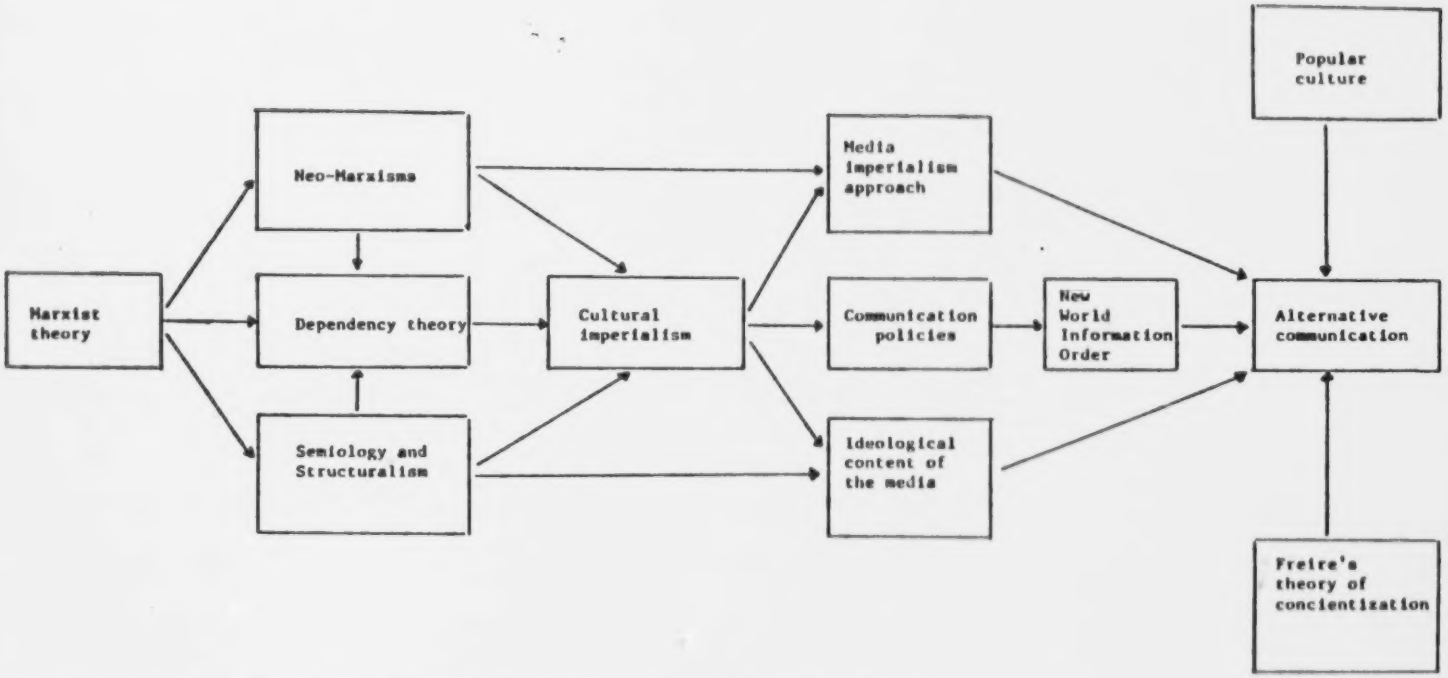
Figure 2. : Hypothetical model of the major sources of influence on Latin American critical scholars (*)



(*) Model is an expanded version of Chilcote, 1984; Narula & Perace, 1986; Reyes-Matta, 1986.

Sources of Data

Any attempt to understand such a large and heterogeneous phenomenon like the growth of communication research in Latin America as a scholarly discipline would be impossible if we would pretend to do it taking a single approach and using only one type of research method. In the present study we have used the following methods of data collection and data analysis to determine the growth of the discipline in the region.

1. Interviews with 50 Latin American communication scholars, from seven Latin American countries to determine how do they perceive the development of the discipline in the region.

Specifically, we were interested in obtaining their point of view in regard to the following issues:

a) What internal and external factors determined the emergence of communication research in Latin America.

b) Which have been the most important studies of communication conducted in the region.

c) Which scholars have been the most influential in the growth of the discipline in the region.

d) Which social, political, and scholarly events have contributed positively and which negatively to communication research in Latin America.

e) What have been the major changes over time in regard to the analyzed topics and research methods more commonly used in Latin America.

f) Is there a Latin American communication research model.

g) Which changes would they like to see in communication research in Latin America.

h) What kinds of changes do they think will occur in communication research in Latin America with the arrival of new information technologies.

2. Content and citation analyses of papers published in Latin American and North American communication journals on Latin American communication research to determine:

a) Which communication topics have been widely analyzed in Latin America.

b) Which have been the most influential authors on Latin American scholars.

c) What is the level of connectedness of communication, journals in the region.

d) Whether there have been some patterns of change over time regarding these issues.

A total of 187 articles on Latin America published in the seven U. S. communication journals selected for the present study and 415 articles written by Latin American journals also selected

Table 2 : Major Latin American and North American communication journals selected for the present study.

Journal's name	Time period between first and most recent article on Latin America (1930 | 35 | 40 | 45 | 50 | 55 | 60 | 65 | 70 | 75 | 80 | 1985)	Number of articles analyzed
1. LATIN AMERICAN JOURNALS:		
. Chasqui (second stage) (CIESPAL/Ecuador)	-------	46
. Comunication y Cultura (Mexico)	----------	73
. Cuadernos de Comunicacion (Mexico)	----------	90
. Cadernos INTERCOM (Brazil)	-----	30
. Comunicacao e Sociedade (Brazil)	---------	81
. Cuadernos del TICOM (Mexico)	----------	26
. Revista/Cuadernos ININCO (Venezuela)	---------	28
. Serie Comunicacion Social y Desarrollo (FUDECO/Venezuela)	---------	11
. Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional (CEREN/Chile)	-----	21
. Lenguajes (Argentina)	---	9
TOTAL		415
2. ENGLISH LANGUAGE JOURNALS:		
. Journalism Quarterly	----------	66
. Studies in Latin American Popular culture	-----	48
. Journals of Communication	----------	15
. Public Opinion Quarterly	----------	22
. Gazette	----------	14
. Communication Research	----------	10
. Journal of Broadcasting	----------	12
TOTAL		187

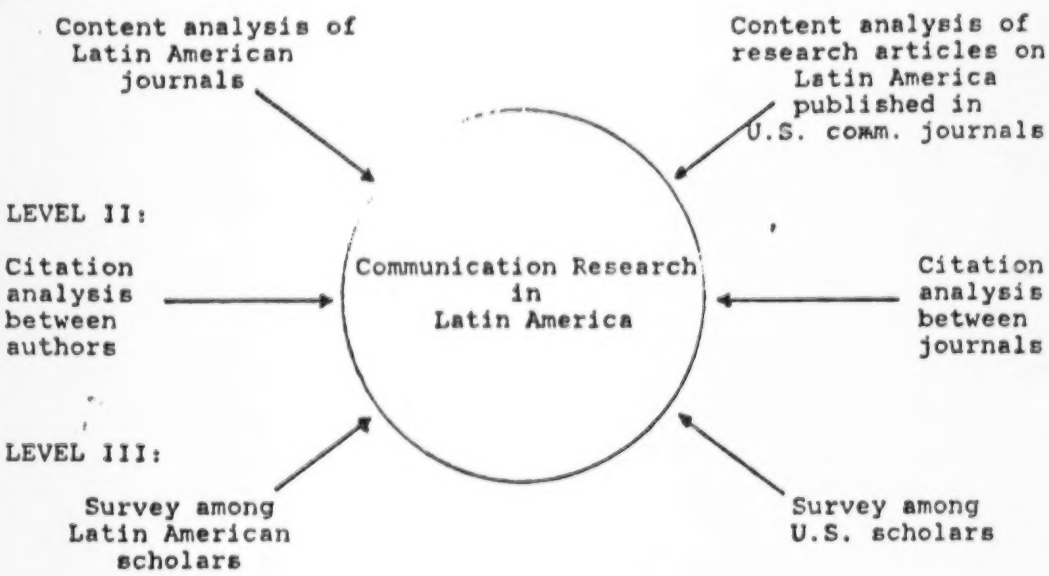
for the present study were content analyzed. Citation analysis was conducted only on - - articles published in Latin American journals. (See table 2 for a list of selected journals).

3. A survey among North American communication scholars who have conducted some research in Latin America, Using all the articles on Latin America published in the seven U. S. communication journals selected for the present study we prepared a list of North American scholars with experience in Latin America. The original group was composed of 105 scholars. Eliminating those who are dead, those who are no longer in academics, and those whose address we were not able to find out, we ended up with a list of 83 U. S. scholars. We mailed each questionnaire made up of a number of fixed-alternative questions, and five free-answer questions. We received 51 questionnaires back, a response rate of 61.4%.

The questionnaire for U. S. scholars was designed to cover the same information areas as the less structured interviews with Latin Americans. As a matter of fact, the response alternatives we provided in this instrument of data collection came from our interviews of Latin American scholars.

A combination of all these different methods can provide us with a better picture of the origins, growth, and present state of communication research in Latin American (see figure 3).

Figure 3 : The field of communication research in Latin America approached from different research methods.


LEVEL I:
Content analysis of Latin American journals
Content analysis of research articles on Latin America published in U.S. comm. journals
LEVEL II:
Citation analysis between authors
Communication Research in Latin America
Citation analysis between journals
LEVEL III:
Survey among Latin American scholars
Survey among U.S. scholars

MAJOR RESULTS

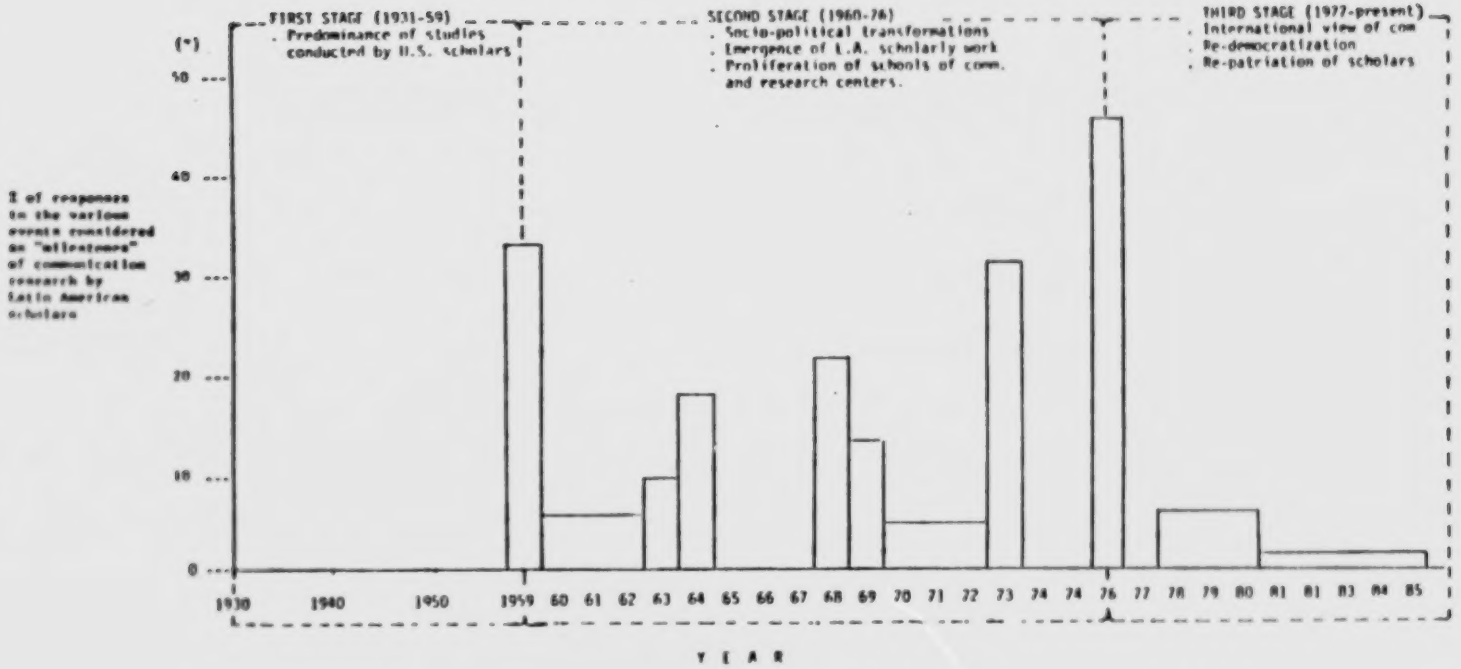
With the purpose of providing empirical answers to the various research questions, the five sources of data collection used in the present study were combined, arriving at the following conclusions:

1) The emergence of communication research in Latin America was the resultant of four major factors: First, of the economic, political, technological, and intellectual influence from the U. S.; second, of the establishment and development of the mass media of communication, especially of electronic media, in the region; third, of the combination of some scientific and scholarly factors, such as, the development of social sciences at worldwide level on the one hand, and the founding of schools of journalism, schools of communication, and research centers in Latin America on the other; and, finally, of the emergence of Latin American intellectual leaders in the 1960's, who developed innovative theories oriented to explain why traditional models of economic development were not working in Latin America (Dependency Theory), and who suggested that communication models that were working in some developed countries were not applicable to the Latin American social and cultural context. In general, the most influential factors mentioned above were originated outside Latin America. However, according to the Latin American respondents, there were also some influential factors which emerged within the region in reaction to the external ones. This means that, since its inception, an area of study composed of groups that are in conflict with one another.

2) The most important events in the history of communication research in Latin America, according to the Latin American scholars who participated in the present study, have been (1) the founding of CIESPAL, in Quito Ecuador, in 1959; (2) the works of Mattelart and his

group in Chile, between 1969 and 1973; and (3) the founding of the first schools of journalism in the early 1930's, and schools of communication in the early 1960's. In grouping these and all the other -- events identified as milestones of communication research in Latin America by Latin American respondents by year or time period when they happened on the one hand, and by thematic category on the other, we obtained the following results: First, 1959 and 1976, seem to be two very important years for communication research in Latin America: two events, the triumph of the Cuban revolution, and the founding of CIESPAL, considered as milestones of communication research in Latin America by Latin American respondents, occurred in the former year, and three events, the founding of ILET, the Argentinean coup d'etat, and the Costa Rica conference on communication policies, occurred in the latter. Second, the results mentioned above led us to hypothesize that the history of communication research in Latin America can be divided into three stages: the first stage going from the early studies on Latin American journalism of the 1920's and 1930's to 1959, the second stage going from 1960 to 1976, and the third one from 1977 to at least the time when we concluded our process of data collection: 1985-86 (see figure 4). Third, considering the characteristics of the various events identified as milestones of communication research in Latin America within each one of the stages mentioned above, we suggest that the first stage can be characterized by the predominance of studies conducted by U. S. scholars: in fact, no internal activity for communication research was identified by Latin American scholars for that period; the second stage, on the other hand, can be characterized by (1) the emergence of Latin American scholarly work, (2) proliferation of schools of communication and research centers in the region, and (3) strong socio-political transformations. Finally, the third stage, can be characterized by the emergence of a more international view of communication, as well as by

Figure 4. Stages of communication research in Latin America



(*) Based on responses given by Latin American scholars on which have been the milestones of communication research in Latin America.

Note: The length and width of bars were calculated as follows: (1) Events, with their corresponding frequency of response, were distributed according to the year when they occurred; (2) when two or more events occurred in the same year, their frequencies were added up; (3) on the other hand, when an event occurred over a period of two or more years, its frequencies were distributed proportionally over the period when they occurred; (4) the cumulative frequencies per year were divided by the number of respondents in order to obtain the relative frequencies per year.

a process of redemocratization of some Latin American countries which in turn has led to repatriation of scholars to their home countries.

3. Generally speaking, Latin American respondents considered the works of Mattelart and his group in Chile, as well as the works of Pasquali in Venezuela, Beltran in Columbia, Veron in Argentina, and Freire in Brazil and Chile the most important communication studies conducted so far in the region (see table A). These results go in line with some theories developed recently by North American and Latin American scholars, according to which the five authors mentioned above can be considered as the pioneers and most important intellectual leaders of communication research in Latin America (Atwood, 1986; McAnany, 1986; Schwarz & Jaramillo, 1986). In fact, the present results could be considered as a first piece of empirical evidence in support of that theory.

TABLE A:

Most important communication studies conducted in Latin America, according to Latin American scholars.

Study of group of studies	% of respondents who provided this answer
- Works of Mattelart and his group in Chile	62
- Works of Pasquali in Venezuela	40
- Works of Beltran in Colombia	32
- Works of Veron in Argentina	26
- Works of Freire in Brazil and Chile	22
- Works of Rogers in Colombia and Brazil	18
- Works of Marquez de Melo in Brazil	14
- Works of Esteinou in Mexico	10
- Works of Fernandez Christlieb in Mexico	10

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4. U. S. scholars with research experience in Latin America: they considered that "Latin American scholarly work" and "U.S. intellectual and scholarly influence" were the two more positive factors to the emergence and growth of communication research in Latin America. On the other hand, they considered "socio-political events" as the more negative ones. Considering that, on the one hand, we asked Latin American scholars for identifying the facts, and on the other hand, we asked U. S. scholars for evaluating how positive or negative this factors were, we cannot establish any direct comparison between the two on this issue. However, we can hypothesize that both groups tend to identify the same influential factors, and that they agree in considering Latin American scholarly work as very positive to communication research in Latin America. However, we think they would disagree in regard to the arithmetic sign that should be attached to "U. S. intellectual and scholarly influence," as well as to "Latin American socio-political events."

5. Both Latin American and U. S. scholars agreed with the idea that there have been important changes over time in regard to the kinds of research problems studied in Latin America, the research objectives pursued, and the research methods more commonly used. In fact, when the mean scores obtained by each group on each one of these issues, no statistically significant difference at .05 level was found. However, when we separated those who had an opinion on whether or not there have been changes over time on these issues from those who did not have an opinion in that respect ("don't knows"), we found that Latin Americans scholars tend to have more an opinion in regard to the aforementioned issues than their North American counterparts (p .01).

Perhaps this can be interpreted as an "actor-and-observer" phenomenon, with Latin Americans more aware of what has happened inside the region in the field of communication research. However, another possible explanation for these differences in knowledge about changes occurred in the discipline over time, could be the fact that we used different measurement instruments with each group: whereas with Latin American we used personal interviews, with North Americans we used self-administered questionnaires. This could affect willingness of respondents to accept lack of knowledge on a particular issue.

6. Chasqui, a communication journal published by CIESPAL, and Journalism Quarterly have still been the most important Latin American and North American communication journals for Latin American communication research, respectively. The former was considered as the most important Latin American communication journal by both Latin American and U. S. respondents; it has been the best publication forum for both groups, and was the Latin American communication journal that registered the highest level of readership among U. S. scholars (see table 3). Journalism Quarterly, on the other hand, is the journal that has been published Latin American communication research for a longer period of time (as compared with both Latin American and English language communication journals); it is the journal that has been more widely cited by Latin American scholars, and the one in which a higher number of U. S. scholars who participated in the present study has published (see table 4). There is a U. S. journal that is becoming more important in the spectrum of major communication journals publishing research on Latin America: Studies in Latin American Popular Culture, which in spite of the fact that it was launched in 1982, it has become the second more important English language journal, along with the Journal of Communication, publishing research on Latin America.

Table 3 Most important Latin American communication journals according to U.S. and Latin American scholars' opinions.

JOURNAL	LATIN AMERICAN SCHOLARS (N=50)			NORTH AMERICAN SCHOLARS (N=51)			TOTAL	JOURNALS SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS
	MAIN LAT. AMERICAN JOURNALS	JOURNALS YOU HAVE PUBLISHED	JOURNALS YOU WISH TO PUBLISH	JOURNALS YOU HAVE PUBLISHED	JOURNALS YOU HAVE READ	JOUR. YOU CONSIDER IMPORTANT		
. CHASQUI (CIESPAL/Ecuador)	44	15	14	8	13	14	113	•
. Comunicacion y Cultura (Mexico)	43	8	16	0	14	4	85	•
. Cuadernos de Comunicacion (Mexico)	14	9	5	3	12	2	45	•
. Cadernos Intercom (Brazil)	13	6	2	1	11	7	40	•
. Comunicacao e Sociedade (Brazil)	11	5	3	3	6	5	33	•
. Cuadernos del TICOM (Mexico)	11	5	1	0	3	2	22	•
. Comunicacion (Venezuela)	8	1	2	1	6	3	21	
. Materiales para la Comunicacion Popular (Peru)	3	4	0	0	7	3	17	
. Revista ININCO (Venezuela)	6	2	1	1	3	1	14	•
. Serie Comunicacion Social y Desarrollo (FUDECO/Venezuela)	0	0	0	2	8	3	13	•
. Orbita (Venezuela)	0	1	0	0	2	1	4	
. Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional (CEREN/Chile)	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	•
. Lenguajes (Argentina)	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	•

Note: Cell entries represent frequencies per journal per question.

Table 4: Seven most important English language communication journals for communication research in Latin America

Journal	Journals where U.S. scholars who participated in the present study have published (N=51) Freq.	Rank order	Actual number of articles on Latin America published by U.S. scholars in each journal Freq.	Rank order	Combined rank
Journalism Quart.	17	1	66	1	1
Studies in Lat.Am. Popular Culture	8	4	48	2	2.5
J. of Communication	13	2	15	4	2.5
Public Opinion Qrt.	5	6	22	3	4
Gazette	7	5	14	5	5.5
Comm. Research	10	3	10	7	5.5
J. of Broadcasting	4	7	12	6	7

This journal specializes on a topic that is very important for Latin American communication research (popular culture), and, consequently, it has become a forum for those Latin American scholars interested in publishing for an English speaking audience.

7. A very low level of connectedness among the Latin American journals only Comunicacion y Cultura, a journal edited by Armand Mattelart and Hector Schmucler, has citation links with other four Latin American journals (Revista ININCO, Cuadernos del TICOM, Comunicacao e Sociedade, and Chasqui). This situation could be produced by the following factors: (1) because come journals have been published at different times. Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, for instance, which was launched during Allende's administration in Chile, was the most widely cited journal, but it could not cite any of the other journals selected for the present study, because its publication was canceled before the other journals were launched; (2) because of differences in the research orientation between some journals (i.e., Comunicacion y Cultura, on the one hand, and FUDECO, on the other; (3) because of the low circulation that Latin American journals have outside the country where they are published; and (4) because of the tendency that Latin American scholars have to cite books instead of journals: 67% of the 4863 citations analyzed in the present study corresponded to books.

8. "Communication and culture", "communication and development", and "mass media uses and effects" are the most important topics of communication research in Latin America, when combining data from our four major sources: Latin American and U. S. surveys and journals (see table 5). On the other hand, the "impact of new information technologies", "alternative communication," and "Latin American journalism" were the -- topics that turned to be the

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Table 5 : Rank order of major topics in Latin American communication research.

Topic	Journals		Scholars		Combined rank
	L.A.	U.S.	L.A.	U.S.	
- Communication and culture	1	2	2	5	1
- Communication and development	5	4	3	1	2
- Mass media uses & effects	4	8	1	2	3
- Characteristics of Latin Am. media	7	1	5.5	4	4
- Media content (inc. ideological content)	3	7	7	3	5
- Political communication	6	3	4	6.5	6
- History of Latin Am. media	2	5	11	6.5	7
- Communication policies	9	9.5	5.5	9	8
- New information technologies	8	11	8	8	9
- Alternative communication	10	9.5	9	11	10
- Latin American journalism & Freedom of the Press.	11	6	11	11	11

Notes: 1. Rank orders were obtained based on the number of articles per topic in both Latin American and U.S. journals, as well as in the responses given by Latin American and North American scholars to the question on which topics they have conducted research in Latin America.

2. The combined rank was obtained by averaging the relative frequencies obtained by each topic in each source of data, and ranking them.

least important in the combined group of sources mentioned above. Regarding the top topics, we found that whereas "communication and culture," and "mass media uses and effects" were more important among the Latin American group, "communication and development" was the most important topic for U. S. scholars. Regarding the topics that turned to be the least important, we think that the following factors could affect their position in the ranking of major topics: "new information technologies" because is a new area of analysis in Latin America, and also because no U. S. scholar has conducted any study yet on this topic in Latin America. "Latin American journalism", on the other hand, is a topic that was very important in the early years of communication research in Latin America, but that gradually has lost importance. Finally, we can point out that the results obtained by "alternative communication" were surprising to us (based on literature reviews, we expected a better relative position for this topic). Perhaps part of the problem is that most of the studies on this topic are published in books or other kinds of sources. However, even among Latin American scholars who participated in the study, this topic ranked very low [ranked 9th]. Therefore, we can hypothesize that "alternative communication" has not been as important topic in Latin America as it has been thought by some authors. Or perhaps there is not a clear idea of what it is, and respondents used other terms to refer to that topic. As a matter of fact, even some of the scholars who study this area sustain that there is not a clear definition of the topic (Reyes-Matta, 1986).

9. Armand Mattelart has been, by far, the most influential author on Latin American communication researchers: he was the most widely cited author regardless of time, topic, and citing journal (see tables 6 and 7). Likewise, he was considered, by Latin American

Table 6 : More widely cited authors by time period.

Time period			
1960-76		1977-present	
Author	Freq.	Author	Freq.
A. Mattelart	28	A. Mattelart	126
K. Marx	26	A. Gramsci	52
R. Barthes	19	W. Schramm	38
M. Mattelart	18	K. Marx	37
F. Engels	18	U. Eco	35
J. McNelly	16	H. Schiller	34
U. Eco	15	R. Barthes	33
E. Veron	15	E. Rogers	32
O. Masotta	13	L.R. Beltran	31
V.I. Lenin	12	UNESCO	31
C. Levi-Strauss	12	E. Veron	31
T. Adorno	9	P. Freire	30
D. Lerner	9	A. Pasquali	30
J. McLeod	9	M. Mattelart	30
W. Schramm	8	J. Marquez de Melo	23

Table 7 : More widely cited authors by citing journal.

Hispanic South American journals		Mexican journals		Brazilean journals	
Author	Freq.	Author	Freq.	Author	Freq.
A. Mattelart	38	A. Mattelart	86	A. Mattelart	30
J. McNelly	30	A. Gramsci	35	P. Freire	20
A. Pasquali	25	K. Marx	29	J. M de Melo	13
E. Rogers	25	U. Eco	26	R. Barthes	12
K. Marx	25	M. Mattelart	24	A. Gramsci	12
E. Veron	20	R. Barthes	21	H. Schiller	12
R. Barthes	19	W. Schramm	21	F. Reyes Matta	10
M. Mattelart	19	E. Veron	20	W. Schramm	10
F. Izcaray	17	L.R. Beltran	17	T. Adorno	9
UNESCO	17	H. Schiller	16	U. Eco	9
F. Engels	16	P. Bourdieu	15	K. Marx	9
U. Eco	15	L. Althusser	14	E. Rogers	9
W. Schramm	15	F. Engels	13	J. DiazBordenave	8
O. Masotta	13	M. Piccini	13	F. Engels	8
R. Martin	13	UNESCO	13	H. Marcuse	8

Table 8 : Most influential authors on Latin American communication research in opinion of Latin American scholars

Most influential authors on Latin American communication research.			Most influential authors on respondents' professional lives.		
Rank	Author	(%)	Rank	Author	(%)
1	Mattelart	71.4	1	Mattelart	24.0
2	Pasquali	40.8	2.5	Martin-Barbero	18.0
3	Beltran	36.7	2.5	Marx	18.0
4	Marquez de Melo	28.6	5	Gramsci	14.0
5	Veron	26.5	5	Rogers	14.0
6.5	Esteinou	22.4	5	Veron	14.0
6.5	Reyes-Matta	22.4	8.5	Cortina	10.0
8	Freire	20.4	8.5	Eco	10.0
9	Martin-Barbero	18.4	8.5	Freire	10.0
10	Fernandez-Christlieb	16.3	8.5	McAnany	10.0

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respondents, as the most influential author in both Latin American communication research and in their professional careers as writers and researchers (see table 8).

10. "Critical" Latin American communication scholars, even without Mattelart and his group, constituted the most influential group of authors on those Latin American scholars who have published research in Latin American communication journals. Their influence has increased in the recent years, going from the fifth place in the ranking of influential groups, in the 1969-76 period, to the first place in the 1977-85 period. This variation in their level of influence could be an indicator of a process of "Latinamericanization" of communication research in the region. Likewise, it goes in line with the importance assigned by Latin American scholars to the scholarly work done by Latin American "critical" scholars, which we mentioned above.

11. There seems to be some differences between Latin American and North American scholars in their opinions on which have been the main obstacles to communication research in Latin America. Although both mentioned "economic problems" as a major problem, for Latin Americans the low status and quality of communication research in Latin America, as well as the low research orientation of Latin American universities were also very important. On the other hand, U. S. scholars tend to put more emphasis on the lack of human resources, lack of access to information, and lack of communication networks among Latin American scholars (See table 9). We have interpreted this as a major concern of Latin Americans for having the opportunity to do more research, of better quality, which can improve the perceived importance of the discipline in the region. On the other hand, U. S. scholars seem to believe that what is needed is the emergence of a community of communication scholars in the region, able to establish links with one another. This again, could be a problem of actor and observer

Table 9: Main obstacles to communication research in Latin America as seen by Latin American and U.S. scholars

LATIN AMERICAN SCHOLARS			NORTH AMERICAN SCHOLARS		
% of respondents who provided this answer	Obstacles / problems	Rank	Rank	Obstacles / problems	Mean score
80	Economic problems	1	1	Lack of human resources	3.92
50	Low research orientation of L.A. universities	2	2	Lack of access to information	3.78
38	Low status/quality of comm. research	3	3	Economic problems	3.57
34	Lack of a research tradition	4.5	4	Lack of diffusion of Latin Am. research	3.49
34	Lack of professionalism comm. researchers	4.5	5	Lack of networks among Latin Am. scholars	3.38
32	Lack of networks among Latin Am. scholars	6	6	Political oppresion	3.32
28	Lack of access to information	7	7	Censorship	3.21
24	Low quality of communication programs	8.5	8	Lack of good/adequate comm. programs	3.17
24	Lack of publications	8.5	9	Lack of empirical studies	3.04
22	Lack of human resources	10	10	Military coups d'etat	3.03
20	Lack of diffusion of Latin Am. research	11	11	Empirical research seen as U.S. imperialism	2.87
18	Military regimes	12	12	Scholars doing politics not research	2.51
10	Lack of continuity of research projects	13	13	Adherence to traditional models	2.45
8	Lack of a job market for comm researchers	14	14	Lack of prestige of communication research	2.38
4	Lack of empirical studies	15	15	Lack of theoretical models	2.19

Note: Mean scores range from 1= not a problem to 5= major problem. They were computed by multiplying frequency of response by the corresponding point of the scale (1 to 5), and averaging them.

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phenomenon. Results from the citation analysis, showed us that there is a growing network of intellectual influence among Latin American scholars. However, the social network of communication scholars is the one in which U. S. scholars refer, and further research among Latin American scholars would be needed in order to explore this issue.

12. Although, in general, Latin American and North American scholars consider that we cannot talk about a Latin American communication research model, the group of Hispanic South Americans considered that there is a Latin American communication research model. In fact, average chores between groups on this issue were statistically significant at .05 level. This finding could be interpreted, in part, as follows: Hispanic South American Scholars, especially Argentineans and Chileans, have seen strong changes in the research activities conducted in their home countries. They have seen many research centers closed by military regimes and have either migrated themselves to other countries, or have seen some of their fellows to leave their countries because of political reasons. Therefore, it is likely that their perceptions of the historical circumstances in which communication research has grown in the region, as well as on the kinds of studies that have emerged as a consequence of this historical factors, have led them to think that communication research in Latin America has completely different characteristics that the ones it has in other parts of the world. However, Brazilians also faced strong political problems during the military regimes (1964-78), and they do not think that way. Therefore, further research is needed to clarify this point.

13. Both Latin American and U. S. scholars agreed with the idea that "communication and development" is an area of study that should be more emphasized in Latin America. However, whereas U. S. scholars just mentioned aspects related to the area mentioned above, Latin

Americans also emphasized the idea of studying more the areas of "communication and culture" and "new information technologies". This finding seems to be consistent with other findings mentioned above: U. S. scholars more interested than Latin Americans in the area of communication and development, and Latin Americans more interested in communication and culture. Finally, we can point out that the area of new technologies is creating an important difference in the way in which communication research in Latin America is seen by both groups of scholars: unlike U. S. scholars, Latin Americans not only mentioned the area of new information technologies as one of the areas that should be emphasized, but also considered that this new area of study is going to produce important changes in the way communication research has been conducted in the region (the difference in opinions between the two groups in regard to this issue was statistically significant at .05 level). This means that Latin Americans have greater interest in studying this new subject in the area, as well as greater expectations than their North American counterparts.

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